The Foot in the Door—*Jerome Nathanson*

THE Nation

November 17, 1951

Mr. Justice McGrath?

"With Howard, Howard Comes First"

BY HENRY H. SMITH

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Peace Moves in Europe

Rhetoric Versus Hard Facts

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Churchill's "Last Great Prize"

BY ANDREW ROTH

*

The New Taft Act

BY WILLARD SHELTON

NOV 13 1951

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Workers' Education: New Style

Monteagle, Tennessee

"I'VE BEEN hearing about this democracy for a long time," said the Negro trade unionist from Texas. "Now that I've *seen* it, I'd be right proud to have more." This statement by a student at the Highlander Folk School is one illustration of the ability of this Southern labor school to set its students on fire with the conviction that real democracy is possible and that they can help people to attain it. It explains why the United Packinghouse Workers of America (C. I. O.) has broken with a long labor tradition and intrusted the direction of the union's national education program to the Highlander Folk School.

In a day when union education is mostly a one-way belt to transmit policy from the national to the local level, the Packinghouse Workers' leaders have shown rare confidence in the membership. "We believe that the strength of a union," says President Ralph Helstein, "lies in its rank and file and that this strength can be tested by the degree to which members participate in union affairs. The U. P. W. A. education program aims to stimulate this all-important interest while developing at the same time local union leaders."

Myles Horton, who has been director of Highlander during its nineteen years as a workers' education center, will administer the Packinghouse program under the supervision of Vice-President Russell R. Lasley. "The program will be worked out on the percolator system," Horton explains. "Ideas will come from the workers up and not, as in the drip system, from the top down." A staff of five field workers will see to it that the ideas begin to perk. Highlander's approach to workers' education is at variance with the current trend of sending local union leaders into college classrooms and to labor "institutes." Horton believes that leaders are developed, and that the maximum of union education takes place in the plant, the union hall, the community, at labor conferences and conventions, in organizational and political campaigns, in strike and contract negotiations.

The U. P. W. A. program will focus attention on issues which Highlander has long stressed. The large racial and nationality groups in the packing industry make the union's strength dependent upon its ability to integrate minorities. In some districts almost half the union's membership is Negro. After its 1950 convention the union established an International Anti-Discrimination Department. It insisted upon, and regularly enforces, a clause in its contracts which prohibits discrimination because of "race, sex, color, creed, or nationality" not only in hiring but in promotion. Negroes living in communities near organized plants are encouraged to apply for employment. Violations of the anti-discrimination clause by the employer are treated as any violation would be treated; a major strike has been called on this issue at the W. W. Pickle Company's plant in Montgomery, Alabama.

The packinghouse union, like Highlander, has long stressed farmer-labor cooperation as well as political action. Through publications, exhibits at state and country fairs, and farmer-labor committees in local unions it has constantly admonished farmers and packinghouse workers "to lean into the collar and pull together." *The Meat of It*, a sheet issued monthly by the union, goes to farmers in every major farming region.

In fact, U. P. W. A. first became interested in Highlander because of its work with farmers, which President James G. Patton of the National Farmers' Union has called "a most significant program in training rural leaders to build a new people's movement in the rural sections of the South." For years the school has been bringing small farmers and industrial workers together in a program of mutual help despite their so-called "natural" enmity. A Highlander staff member is employed full time by the Farmers' Union, at present in Tennessee and Alabama. Another staff member represents the Farmers' Union in Virginia and parts of Tennessee.

Farmer-labor cooperation is more likely to assume significant form in the South than in any other region. The flight of so-called "runaway" Northern plants to the South has created a decentralized industrial pattern. All over the South farm people drive five, ten, or twenty miles to jobs in small industrial towns. For example, E. K. Bowers, who owns and operates a farm near Gadsden, Alabama, works in the Gadsden plant of the Goodyear Rubber Company. His union, Local 12 of the United Rubber Workers of America (C. I. O.), sent him to Highlander for training as a local union leader. On his return he did such an outstanding job in building the local and in making it an important factor in community life that he was elected its president. Part of his job as he saw it was to help organize his neighbors in the Farmers' Union. Recently they elected him chairman of the board of the Farmers' Union cooperative. In the minds of the people living in and around Gadsden there is no conflict between the interests of workers and farmers. This attitude is already a potent political fact in the South and will become more potent as the pace of industrialization is stepped up under the influence of the large atomic centers now beginning to dot the area.

Highlander's staff and its facilities have been used by industrial unions, by the Farmers' Union, and by such community groups as the Religion and Labor Workshop and the Conference of Rural Community Centers. The school's executive council has set as its purpose the development of leadership for the strengthening and extension of "this democracy." Highlander holds that democracy is only latent unless workers are given a full voice in industry through unions, and farmers are represented in the market place through cooperatives. It also believes that an army of democratic leaders familiar with the lives, struggles, and traditions of the American people must be created. Democracy, it maintains, is limited where freedom of thought is limited and where segregation divides the people. Lyle Cooper, research director of the Packinghouse Workers, pointed up Highlander's contribution to the labor movement by saying: "Besides being up on what democracy is all about, you folks possess the 'know-how' to put it across. It's a rare combination."

CATHERINE WINSTON

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

ALMOST ANY GENUINE PROPOSAL TO REDUCE armaments could be sure of a warm response on both sides of the Iron Curtain, for the momentum of war preparation is everywhere producing economic misery, unrest, and plain fear. If the so-called three-power plan, outlined first by President Truman and then presented to the General Assembly by Secretary Acheson, aroused no popular enthusiasm even among our allies, the reason should be discovered and examined. Part of the trouble, we are sure, lay in the plan itself. People were waiting and longing for something new, some genuine effort to conciliate differences and end the deadly diplomatic stalemate. But apart from two or three items, the Acheson proposal offered nothing new. To make the plan conditional upon acceptance of the Baruch formula for atomic control was enough to raise doubts of its sincerity. More important, it by-passed the immense political road blocks in the way of disarmament: Mr. Acheson mentioned only the necessity of ending the war in Korea. But apart from these and other questionable aspects of the proposal, its face value was badly damaged by Mr. Acheson's manner of presenting it. Even if every harsh word he spoke about the Russians was true, it is still a fact that a man does not attack a person whose agreement he is honestly seeking. Obviously, Mr. Acheson had no idea of getting a favorable response from Vishinsky. By making this apparent, he transformed his proposal into propaganda; it became less a plan than a maneuver to gain the initiative in the cold war—and this is not what the world was waiting for. That Vishinsky's reply was insufferably crude and mocking, and his counter-proposal even less convincing, only added to the cynicism of the occasion.

*

THE TREND DISCUSSED IN *THE NATION'S* Dilemma of Reform articles which appeared in the issue of October 27 was confirmed at the polls in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York on November 6. Ignoring regular party labels, voters in the three cities registered an emphatic protest against mounting civic corruption and machine politics. In Philadelphia, where the G. O. P. had controlled the city since 1883, the Democratic team of Joseph S. Clark and Richardson W. Dilworth drove the Republican drones from all but one minor office. Disclosures of widespread graft helped, of course, to overcome a nearly three-to-one Republican registration. In Boston the veteran James M. Curley, who has twice governed the city from a jail cell, abandoned an elaborate personal campaign and concentrated his fire on the New Boston Committee even before the votes were counted. Curley's rallying cry—"I want to keep Democratic Boston Democratic"—fell on deaf ears, and the New Boston Committee's entire slate won by the largest majority in the city's history. Rudolph Halley's victory in New York was perhaps even more spectacular, based as it was on an unusual combination of three independent groups—Liberals, Independents, and Fusionists. Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Richard L. Strout attributes the results to "something abroad in the land" which would seem to be a strong trend toward independent non-party voting motivated by revelations of corruption.

*

THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S FIRST GIFT TO Britain is more austerity. On November 7 R. A. Butler, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, sounding like Cripps at his grimmest, told the House of Commons that imports from both the dollar area and from Europe must be sharply reduced in order to check the drain on Britain's reserves. Moreover, since this will mean reduction in goods available for the home market—which would by itself tend to increase inflationary pressures—steps are to be taken to restrict credit and shrink the supply of money. Interest rates are to be raised, the Bank of England is to limit the volume of Treasury bills which it rediscounts—a move which will tend to reduce the lending capacity of the commercial banks—all new building projects except housing are to be halted for three months, and an excess-profits tax is to go into effect on January 1. Credit restriction, it is hoped, will lead to some liquidation of inventories and so help to check further increases in price; together with the ban on new building it should slow down investment and thus cause some workers to lose their jobs. However, in view of the large number of unfilled vacancies in the armament industries, unemployment is unlikely to increase very much, unless the monetary authorities decide to give several more twists to the screw. Considering how truly serious Britain's position has become, Mr. Butler's program can hardly be criticized as unduly drastic; it probably does not differ markedly from that which Mr. Gaitskell would

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 413

Hope for Kashmir 415

ARTICLES

Rhetoric vs. Hard Facts *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 416

Churchill's "Last Great Prize" *by Andrew Roth* 417

The New Taft Act *by Willard Shelton* 419

"With Howard, Howard Comes First" *by Henry H. Smith* 421

The Battle for Free Schools: The Foot in the Door *by Jerome Nathanson* 423

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The First Roosevelt *by M. R. Werner* 426

The Scars of "Negroness" *by Rayford W. Logan* 427

Portraits by Ivan Bunin *by Anita Marburg* 429

Books in Brief 430

Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 430

Music *by B. H. Haggin* 431

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 439 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 432

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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have adopted had the Labor government returned to power. But it represents a rude shock for uninstructed Tory supporters who now find that they are to be deprived of those luxury European foods which until now have mitigated the meagerness of rations.

*

THE C. I. O. CONVENTION IN NEW YORK LAST week seemed dull in comparison with the brawling meetings of earlier years, before the Communists had been expelled. There were no serious floor fights, no observable opposition to the programs laid down by the leaders. But two resolutions revealed that the C. I. O., now respectable if not middle-aged, still has a residue of the crusading zeal that organized steel, automobile, and rubber in the militant thirties. The first, denouncing racketeering, was aimed at labor racketeers as well as plunderers of public funds, at unsavory practices within the C. I. O. as well as in other circles: pay-offs to local C. I. O. leaders to check strikes have been reported, in some union halls slot machines have been installed, and some advertising for union publications has been obtained by pressure tactics. The C. I. O. told its internationals to do their own housecleaning and do it fast, and strongly intimated that a "little Kefauver committee" would be set up if necessary. A strong resolution on civil rights was passed after Philip Murray bluntly told the delegates that some C. I. O. members were as anti-Negro as the KKK and that the organization did not intend to tolerate it.

*

THE NEW YORK PAPERS BROKE OUT IN A rash of editorials deploring the C. I. O.'s flat warning that it would not accept economic stabilization at the expense of workers alone and Murray's implied warning that the United Steelworkers specifically would not be bound by current stabilization policies limiting the union to a four-cent or five-cent hourly increase in pending wage negotiations. But the metropolitan press is nearly always horrified by union labor's wage ambitions. The Wage Stabilization Board's delay in deciding the many contracts already negotiated, coupled with the absence of price controls, has naturally aroused labor to demand that equality of sacrifice be more than a pious phrase. Nathan Feinsinger, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, was realistic without being soft when he outlined to a skeptical convention policies that clearly left the way open for wage increases based on higher productivity. Unions helped hold wages stable under the Little Steel formula during World War II, and they will help again when they are persuaded that an equitable new formula has been devised. They cannot be expected to sit idle—obviously the C. I. O. will not—when prices are rising under the Capehart amendment and all the benefits of higher productivity are going to employers.

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Hope for Kashmir

THE United Nations Security Council has adopted a resolution, sponsored by the United States and Britain, authorizing Dr. Frank Graham to continue his efforts to obtain agreement between India and Pakistan on the demilitarization of Kashmir so that the long-delayed plebiscite to determine the future of that disputed province may be organized. Although Dr. Graham's three months' mission last summer failed in its primary task, his report on the differences between the position of the two parties showed that the chasm between them was not absolutely unbridgeable.

Both India and Pakistan must bear some responsibility for the trouble in Kashmir which broke out more than four years ago. Whether or not India has legal title to this province, its moral title is dubious, since its claim depends on a deed of accession signed by the former ruler, Maharajah Hari Singh, after he had fled from his capital to escape his rebellious subjects. On the other hand, Pakistan undoubtedly committed aggression when it sent its army across the border to aid the Moslem tribesmen of the north organized in the Azad (Freedom) movement. It was then that Indian military forces were rushed into the state to assist the provisional government of the Sheik Abdullah, whose National Conference Party—also largely Moslem—stands for the inclusion of Kashmir in India.

Fighting continued until October, 1948, when the U. N. Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) succeeded in obtaining a cease-fire and an agreement for settling the future of Kashmir by a plebiscite once arrangements for demilitarization had been concluded. The UNCIP plan provided that the Pakistani government withdraw its troops from Kashmir and do its best to secure the withdrawal of the Pakistani irregulars who had crossed the border to aid the Azad Kashmiris. When these steps had been taken, the Indian government was to remove "the bulk of its forces" from Kashmir, maintaining on its side of the cease-fire only troops "which in agreement with the commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in maintaining law and order."

The cease-fire accord has been respected, but disagreement about the demilitarization plan has persisted. All efforts of UNCIP itself and of the three special representatives, including Dr. Graham, have proved unavailing in bringing the parties together, with the result that Kashmir has remained an open sore poisoning relations between Pakistan and India. The first contends that withdrawal of its own forces should be synchronized with that of "the bulk" of the Indian army; the second has insisted hitherto that the Pakistani troops should be evacuated unconditionally, after which the timing and extent of the reduction in its own strength should be settled between UNCIP and the government of India.

On his arrival in the subcontinent last June, Dr. Graham drafted a plan for demilitarization and invited comments from both governments. Full agreement proved possible only on his first four points, which called on both parties (1) to reaffirm their determination not to resort to force; (2) to instruct official spokesmen and urge private citizens and organizations not to make warlike statements; (3) to reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire; (4) to reaffirm the principle that the future of Kashmir should be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices.

But the old question of the demilitarization timetable continued to cause friction. The Pakistani government accepted Dr. Graham's proposal that withdrawals on both sides be completed within ninety days, but Premier Nehru expressed doubts about the feasibility of so short a period in view of "the spirit and temper of war" prevailing in Pakistan. On the other hand, he appeared to accept at least partial synchronization of withdrawals—an important concession. The chief remaining question was the size of the forces to be left on each side of the line. Pakistan suggested a total of four battalions in Azad Kashmir provided that the forces retained on the other side were of roughly equal strength. India wanted to keep sixteen battalions but hinted that it might be willing to reduce this figure if threats against the security of the state should diminish.

Obviously this difference in views will not be readily composed, but if any man can accomplish the task it is Dr. Graham, who, approaching the problem as an international civil servant, has impressed both sides with his impartiality and sincerity. We hope that both New Delhi and Karachi are now prepared to make sacrifices in order to remove what Dr. Graham described in his statement to the Security Council as "the chief road-block in the way of cooperation between India and Pakistan." Settlement of this dispute, which is burdening both countries with heavy political, moral, and economic costs, would facilitate the ending of other controversies impeding the peaceful development of the great subcontinent. More than that, a genuine rapprochement between India and Pakistan would immeasurably enhance the international stature of both, enabling them to play a much more influential part in voicing the aspirations of Asia and in promoting peace throughout the world.

CORRECTION: The author of the article, The Supreme Court Reconsiders, in *The Nation* of November 10 was Fowler Harper, a distinguished professor at the Yale Law School. By a regrettable error his name appeared as Harper Fowler.

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Rhetoric vs. Hard Facts

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 9

THE opening of the current Assembly on November 6 may turn out to have been an event of outstanding importance—I use the word "may" advisedly, not wishing to make any predictions—but the old Assembly came to an end, on November 5, in what was far from a blaze of glory. The routine ceremony of closing was transformed into one more exhibition of the antagonism of the two blocs by the political ineptitude of Secretary General Lie, whose long and unnecessary speech praising the Fifth Assembly as one of the most successful since the organization of the U. N. provoked a bitter reply from the Soviet delegation.

President Auriol of France, in his inaugural address to the Sixth Assembly, made up to some extent for the Secretary General's mistake, laying great emphasis on the need for a meeting of the heads of the great powers. "Personal contacts," he believed, might be effective when other methods failed. Being himself a warmly human person, he made a deep impression on his audience. His appeal was reinforced by the election of Padilla Nervo, of Mexico, to the presidency of the Assembly—not as the candidate of the Latin American bloc but with the votes of the Big Four—for three years ago Padilla Nervo introduced a resolution in the Assembly, here in Paris, asking for meetings among the Big Four.

The enthusiasm with which many people had looked forward to this Assembly was somewhat dampened as it went to work. The much-publicized peace plan of Secretary Acheson is thought "too general." In past sessions, it is recalled, the Russians were often reproached for offering "too ambitious plans," for "making propaganda speeches instead of concentrating on concrete issues."

Fortunately a new spirit of realism is apparent here, especially in the corridors, that is, in the private conversations among the leading delegates that are expected to accomplish more than the speeches on the floor. Facts are being looked in the face. Those statesmen and diplomats who are capable of clear thinking are beginning to realize that hard as it is to make peace, it is even harder to make war. General Eisenhower's visit to President Truman and the conditions that necessitated it are powerfully affecting the international situation. Today it is generally admitted that many of the Western European divisions which ought to be ready by January 1, 1952, exist only on paper and that at the beginning of the rearmament effort the finances of Europe are cracking under the strain. In a word, it is easier to plan than to accomplish.

Paradoxically, the very difficulties experienced by the Atlantic coalition in carrying out its program of "peace through strength" constitute a peril to Russia. If Europe does not fulfil the requirements of the American military planners, the United States, faced with the possibility of being forced some day to fight alone, might decide to strike before Russia had built up a stockpile of atomic bombs. This is the risk Moscow takes in adopting the policy of waiting for revolution to take over a continent collapsing economically under the burden of rearmament.

THE opening week followed the expected pattern, with the two opposing blocs clashing violently the first day of public sessions. Yet there were a few subtle differences from preceding Assemblies. Secretary Acheson spoke quite differently from the way he used to talk—no longer the calm, judicial, almost detached orator but one full of fire and fighting spirit. The toughest anti-Russian Republican Senator would have felt, had he been in the Palais Chaillot last Thursday, wholly satisfied with the Secretary of State. Foreign Minister Vishinsky, on the other hand, was less incisive than usual. He was violent and uncompromising in his blunt rejection of the Truman speech and of the peace plan of the three powers, but he spoke as if he were not at all interested in the public debate and intended to concentrate all his hopes, if he has any, on back-stage talks that might take place in the near future.

Such talks, though limited so far to the three Western powers, have already begun. The inside story of this first week of debate carries a well-known title, "Korea." Anthony Eden, who represents "personal diplomacy" in the Assembly, has been particularly active, exploring all possibilities in the direction of a settlement. His efforts were dramatized by the grave announcement in London of his Cabinet colleague, R. A. Butler, which immediately became a subject more talked about among the delegates than even President Truman's speech on Wednesday. People were forcibly struck by the language of this Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer who used the word "bankruptcy," talked of "drastic cuts in strategic materials," and advanced measures far outstripping the famous austerity program of Sir Stafford Cripps, so much ridiculed in the past by the Tories.

The Butler speech will hang like a dead weight over the Assembly, which otherwise is in too early a stage to be described as a failure, although some nervous commentators did so yesterday after listening to Acheson and Vishinsky. This feeling illustrates better than anything else what I said above about Europe's incapacity to fulfil the expectations of the American military planners. It confronts the United States with this tremendous alternative: either to build the biggest army—but an

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO will remain in Paris while the U. N. is in session and cover the proceedings of the General Assembly week by week.

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American army—the world has ever known, an army including for propaganda and symbolic effect a few European units and, yes, with many flags of the Atlantic Pact nations (just as in Korea today, with a hundred American boys for every other United Nations soldier), or to seize the first real opportunity for negotiation.

Does this opportunity still exist? At least President Auriol believes it does. He risked his popularity with the Quai d'Orsay and the American delegation by inviting the Big Four—the *real* Big Four, including Truman and Stalin—to come to Paris to talk; that was the main purpose of his speech, and it was not merely a gesture. He realizes that this Assembly, with all the hopes it had aroused, cannot be allowed to adjourn without a supreme effort being made toward a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. When he was respectfully informed that his speech had not pleased certain delegations, he replied in his direct, human, man-of-the-people tone, "Do they consult me when they deliver speeches?" He is convinced, and rightly, that if something is to be achieved it will not be in the full Assembly or in the Political Committee but through personal talks, through "human contact," and by abandoning too grandiose plans and coming down to concrete issues, Korea and Germany.

Churchill's "Last Great Prize"

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, November 6

DESPITE the widespread belief that Mr. Churchill's return would increase the danger of war, a combination of personal and economic forces is pushing him toward attempting a negotiated settlement with the Soviets. Not the least of these forces is Churchill's own pride in his place in modern history and his desire to wind up in a blaze of glory for himself and his country. In his election speech at Plymouth he emphasized that "the last great prize" he sought was to secure world peace through personal talks with Stalin. Of course this statement was partly for the purpose of refuting Labor's thinly disguised accusation that he was a "warmonger." But it is nevertheless true that such an achievement would assure to Mr. Churchill the final acclaim of his own country and of the history books.

Those who have watched him in Parliament these last months have seen that Mr. Churchill must hurry to earn this "last great prize." Not only is he, at seventy-seven, the oldest Prime Minister since Gladstone, but he is showing signs of losing his grip on details. Most newspapers did not report how badly he fumbled on his first day in the House of Commons as head of the government. In discussing the candidates for Speaker he turned repeatedly to his front bench to ask the name of the constituency for which the white-haired W. S. Morrison has sat since 1929. This sort of thing strengthens the reports that he intends to hand over his post to Anthony Eden in six months or so.

Mr. Churchill's dramatic gestures are virtually restricted to the field of foreign affairs because in the domestic field the Conservatives are completely hedged in by the smallness of their majority, their promise to continue the "welfare state," and the silent threat of the 8,000,000-strong Trades Union Congress. The incoming Conservative ministers are reliably reported to be staggered by the economic burdens they have taken over and the frustrating knowledge that the measures which might ease the situation are certain to be unpopular. The anticipated tightening of credit is likely to drive many small marginal businesses to the wall, and though it will create the "moderate unemployment" called for by most Conservative economists, it will arouse the ire of both small business men and trade unionists. Reduction of imports and expansion of exports will intensify the austerity which the Conservatives have so often attacked. A small percentage of "fat" can probably be cut out of the National Health Service expenditure, but any substantially increased charge will be protested. It will be difficult to hold down wage levels because the trade unions will not show the same restraint toward a Conservative government as they did toward Labor. In short, the Churchill government has at its inception been brought face to face with the fact that unless the burden of rearmament is reduced it must either get considerable aid from the United States or undertake measures which will lose it the next election. The president of the Liberal Party, Philip Fothergill, has warned: "The real danger is that one false move, one unpopular step on the part of the Conservative government, may produce a strong emotional reaction and the election of an extreme Socialist majority."

Having found during the campaign that the peace issue was the one on which they got the greatest response, the Laborites are certain to take a stronger anti-rearmament stand when they are in opposition than they did when they formed the government. Thus with another election in twelve or eighteen months always in

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ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, was for a number of years The Nation's *correspondent in the Far East. He is now living in London.*

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prospect, the Conservative leaders must have some issue on which they can win wide popular support. A visit to Moscow in quest of peace would earn for the government the plaudits of many who voted for Labor because they felt it offered less risk of war.

The enthusiasm shown in the United States for the Conservative victory strengthens the belief that Mr. Churchill can negotiate with more chance of American support than almost any other person. President Truman's Administration has been too badly smeared by the McCarthyite accusation of having harbored and appeased Communists to take any initiative for peace. The Attlee government was similarly inhibited by the American charge that the Labor leaders were "Socialist appeasers" after they recognized Communist China. But Mr. Churchill, whose speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 helped launch the cold war, cannot be thought to harbor any secret fondness for communism. He may even yield to American opinion and revoke recognition of China.

STRANGELY enough, Moscow has indicated in its own manner that it would welcome Mr. Churchill as a dove of peace. The Soviets have long had hopes of splitting Britain from the United States on the peace issue. This is clear from the contents of the English-language *News* published fortnightly in Moscow largely for this purpose. "There is no doubt," the November 1 issue says, "that Britain can always pursue an independent policy when such important matters as trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are concerned." Experts on Russia here are convinced that the Kremlin would be delighted, particularly after the Kirk-Vishinsky exchange in October, to make better offers to a British Prime Minister seeking peace than to any American, if only in an attempt to widen the Anglo-American gap.

In September, just before his retirement, the British Ambassador, Sir David Kelly, was the object of friendly gestures which have had no counterpart in the experience of other Western diplomats. About the same time the Russians concluded a major grain deal with Britain involving the supply of one million tons of grain next year. And no sooner had Mr. Eden moved into the Foreign Office than Soviet feelers made known Mr. Vishinsky's desire to talk with him in Paris. Analysts of the Soviet press have all noted the care with which the Communist leaders have indicated that the door to negotiation remains open to Britain. The titles of "warmonger" and "interventionist" no longer precede Mr. Churchill's name. And Tass's report of the election emphasized that Labor's defeat was due to its betrayal of its "peace promises." It is presumably not accidental that the Chinese Communists have also been more conciliatory in the last few weeks.

In his war memoirs Churchill quotes Stalin as having said to him: "We like a downright enemy better than a pretending friend." As Communists the Russian leaders would probably outdo themselves for Mr. Churchill as an inverted way of reproving the Labor government for never having dared such a step. There is little doubt that Tory diplomats are better equipped than Laborites for the sort of hard-boiled spheres-of-strategic-influence talk that seems to be preferred by the Soviets. The difference between the Conservative and the Labor approach to such matters was illustrated in Korea. Many Laborites were initially opposed to letting the U. S.-U. N. forces cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel, but having voiced its concern, the Labor government tailed along behind the American drive to the Manchurian border. Anthony Eden and other Conservatives urged having the U. S.-U. N. forces stop at Korea's narrow waist, below the frontier, and dig in. This was essentially a hard-boiled strategic proposal which might have prevented China's entry into the Korean war.

The London *Times*, which favored Churchill's return to power and which seldom wanders far from the point of view of top Foreign Office figures, has outlined what it believes to be the right road to a world peace settlement. In an editorial printed on November 2 it declared that a settlement hinges on two outstanding problems—Korea and Germany (with Austria). The West, it feels, should stop complaining about the treaty violations in Eastern Europe and the Soviets should stop complaining about the Japanese treaty, for both are water under the bridge. On the other hand, disarmament and the control of atomic energy must be put off. "Disarmament is the last and most difficult of all diplomatic feats, to be attempted only when confidence has been restored and some kind of equilibrium has been established. . . . It would be quite unrealistic to discuss it now, when the highest hope is to achieve a stable balance of power which will be recognized by both sides." Concerning atomic-energy control, "the truth is that the necessary conditions of trust do not exist; but if ever a system of international control could be established, it might be nearer to the Russian plan than to the arrangement proposed by Mr. Baruch."

For the present, this authoritative British voice believes that Korea, Germany, and Austria are "proper subjects for diplomatic talks and all of them offer some hope of agreement."

> In Korea talks are in fact already proceeding with a view to finding a suitable armistice line. Since the Communists have apparently accepted that this line should be based on the actual position of the two armies and not on the Thirty-eighth Parallel [which, incidentally, the *Times* had suggested as the proper line a month before], there is now for the first time good hope that agreement will be reached and the fighting brought to an end.

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The Soviet government may have some reason to fear a rearmed Germany when backed by the might of the Western powers, but it must recognize that the Western powers have just as much reason to fear a Communist Germany or a Germany allied to the Soviet Union. Any proposal would have to take account of these two equal fears and offer some guaranties against them.

The *Times's* own suggestion is free elections throughout Germany under the control of an international commission, plus the guaranty that "an independent Germany, so created, should have the means to defend itself and should have some freedom of foreign policy. The idea of a strictly neutral and wholly disarmed Germany is quite impracticable and would not last nine months if it were attempted."

It is over this difficult German problem that talks seem likely to break down even if Mr. Churchill flies to Moscow in January after a visit to Washington.

The New Taft Act

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, November 8

THE loyal friends and faithful adherents of Senator Robert Alphonso Taft have been telling each other hopefully ever since the Ohio election last year that Senator Bob will have a good deal of labor support for the Presidency in 1952. And undeniably something is stirring within the powerful Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Taft is wooing the building trades, with their 3,000,000 members, and there are at least tentative signs that he is winning a friendly response; as a result the expected wholesouled, united labor drive against the architect of the Taft-Hartley act may be undercut.

When labor was shocked by Taft's reelection in Ohio last year by the only big plurality he has ever won, the first reaction of union leaders was to recognize the deficiencies of their own political campaign. Jack Kroll, director of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, told a press conference that spot checks had shown that only 50 per cent of C. I. O. members in Ohio had registered for the Taft election and that only 25 per cent of the wives of these members had registered. George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, said as recently as last week that checks of A. F. of L. members revealed that only from 11 to 62 per cent were registered to vote.

There is not the slightest indication that union leaders will slacken their emphasis on politics. On the contrary, the A. F. of L. convention in San Francisco in October called for larger contributions to Labor's League for Political Education, and a convention resolution urged A. F. of L. groups to work with other groups having similar political objectives. The C. I. O. convention meeting in New York this week heard a fighting political speech from Kroll, and cheered a sardonic reference by President Philip Murray to the fact that Taft's first speech after announcing his Presidential candidacy was made to a plush audience of bankers and industrialists in the Union League Club.

The C. I. O. is against Taft on Taft-Hartley grounds and also for much broader reasons. It disagrees with him on basic issues of both foreign and domestic policy. Jack Kroll at the convention referred to him sarcastically as "Mr. Reaction," adding that he did not like to call Taft Mr. Republican "because I don't want to libel the memory of Abe Lincoln. I don't like to slander other good members of the Republican Party."

Meany, talking to reporters at the A. F. of L. convention, denied that the federation's disruption of the United Labor Policy Committee had any relation to politics and specifically rejected the rumor that at least part of the A. F. of L. wanted to "clear the decks" for possible support of a Republican Presidential nominee. The new director of Labor's League for Political Education, James McDevitt of Philadelphia, supported Democratic nominees for the principal state-wide Pennsylvania elections last year.

Where, then, is the evidence of a possible reconciliation between Taft and some unions?

In the first place, Taft is working diligently to convince union leaders that he is not, really, their enemy but a reasonable fellow, only too happy to sponsor amendments to remove proved "inequities" in the Taft-Hartley act.

He was co-sponsor with Senator Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat, of an amendment actually passed to remove the requirement for National Labor Relations Board elections before unions could legally request a union-shop security clause. The amendment also validated hundreds of union-shop clauses already in contracts but termed illegal by the Supreme Court because when they were negotiated some C. I. O. leaders had not yet signed anti-Communist affidavits. The Taft-Humphrey amendment did not cure one of the worst evils of the Taft-Hartley act, the provisions specifically giving

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly The Nation's *Washington correspondent.*

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state anti-labor laws priority over the more liberal federal law, but it got rid of a ridiculous and onerous requirement. Taft is also a sponsor, with Humphrey, of another amendment to liberate the building-trades unions from any requirement for the NLRB representation elections. This bill, now pending as S. 1973, is earnestly supported by Richard J. Gray, president of the Building Trades Department, and a parade of building-trades union officials has been going into Taft's office.

In the second place, some of the strongly New Deal and Fair Deal A. F. of L. leaders are gradually losing power, while other men with a Republican tradition or bias are gaining ground.

William Green, A. F. of L. president, is aging rapidly. Dan Tracy of the Electrical Workers is ailing and none too happy about the way he was talked to early this year by Mr. Truman's mobilization boss, Charles E. Wilson. Harvey Bates of the Bricklayers is advanced in years. George Harrison of the A. F. of L. Railway Clerks lost prestige for labor as a whole when, after being named as an adviser to Wilson at the insistence of the United Labor Policy Committee, he delayed for months before he went to work.

On the other hand, Dan Tobin of the Teamsters seems to bear a personal grievance against Mr. Truman and the Democrats; Tobin's teamsters as recently as 1944 furnished the forum at which Franklin D. Roosevelt made his "little dog Fala" speech. Rising to power behind Tobin in the Teamsters is the formidable Dave Beck, who in Seattle and elsewhere on the West Coast undoubtedly played footsie with Republicans. Big Bill Hutcheson of the Carpenters, whose dearest desire is to hand the presidency of his union to his son in a kind of royal succession, has always been a Republican. William McFetridge of the Building Maintenance Employees was the one nationally known union leader who formally indorsed Dewey against Truman in 1948.

THE center of power in the A. F. of L. is the Building Trades Department, which has economic strength, close connections with local political machines, and large membership. Add the Teamsters and you have substantial control of the A. F. of L. Meany, in line for the presidency behind Green, is a Building Trades man himself. The third piece of evidence, and perhaps the most significant, is that President Gray of the Building Trades has twice stated that support of a Republican nominee, even Taft, might be better for labor than support of the Democratic nominee in 1952.

In his October bulletin Gray violently criticized the Administration for failing to procure enactment of S. 1973. He criticized the decisions of Mr. Truman's appointees on the NLRB. He charged that his 3,000,000 members were "neither feared nor respected" by the Democratic Administration. He charged Mr. Truman with hypocrisy in asking Taft-Hartley repeal because the President coupled that request with a demand for enactments of a civil-rights program. He concluded that while, among the alternatives available to labor, voting Republican, and for Taft, might appear "on the surface the least desirable," it would at least "wake up the Democratic Party" and four years later "force Democrats to respect us."

It would be unnatural if Senator Taft did not exploit his sudden emergence as a champion of the Building Trades by pushing hard in the next session of Congress for enactment of S.1973—which is opposed, incidentally, by the A. F. of L. Machinists, the C. I. O., and at least one member of the NLRB. A word about S. 1973 and the union groups to which Taft is primarily appealing.

By freeing Building Trades leaders from having to prove their union majorities in NLRB elections, it would open the way for resumption of back-door deals. Present NLRB requirements are onerous because of the nature, seasonal fluctuations, and geographical diffusion of construction work. The Machinists and the C. I. O., however, think that even Building Trades leaders should in some manner prove that they actually represent groups of workers before bargaining for them. This requirement stems in principle from the Wagner act, not from Taft-Hartley. Taft, who once posed as a defender of helpless union members against autocratic labor bosses, is sponsoring an amendment to turn back the clock.

Mr. Gray is an upright, honorable man. But within the building-trades unions are precisely those groups with restrictive practices, high initiation fees, and arbitrary control that give labor a bad name. Taft will get no support from progressive, democratically operated A. F. of L. unions such as the Machinists and the International Ladies' Garment Workers. He may get some from the Hodcarriers, whose leaders did not bother to have a convention for two decades, and the Carpenters, who have the empty delight of realizing that Big Bill Hutcheson's son is presidential heir-apparent.

Disruption of the United Labor Policy Committee by the A. F. of L. may not prevent a continuation of A. F. of L.-C. I. O. political cooperation on state and local levels. But the growing anger of the C. I. O. against the Federation for torpedoing the committee and its increasingly hostile blasts at A. F. of L. motives and leadership will not make cooperation easier.

Labor has by no means come of age politically. Its registration program is spotty; the majority of union members are disinclined to contribute to the political committees. The Building Trades leadership may decide eventually to oppose Taft, and Gray's declarations may have been designed merely to frighten Democrats. But Taft will make hay if he can, and he will benefit even if he merely weakens active, coordinated opposition to his candidacy and election.

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"With Howard, Howard Comes First"

BY HENRY H. SMITH

[*Attorney General J. Howard McGrath may well be named by President Truman to fill the next Supreme Court vacancy. Henry H. Smith of the Providence* Journal *here recounts the story of McGrath's rise to power in Rhode Island politics. Next week Fowler Harper of the Yale Law School will analyze McGrath's record as Solicitor General and Attorney General.*]

Providence, R. I., November 8

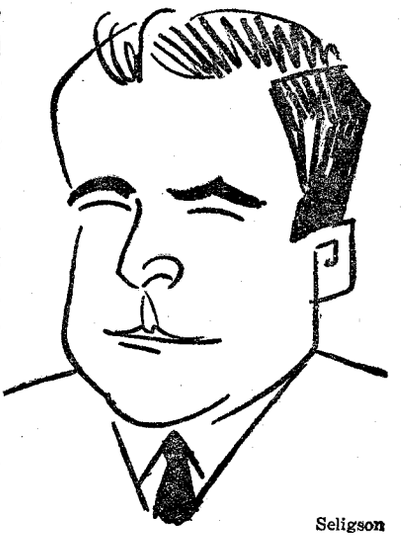
FOR Rhode Islanders there has always been something elusive about the personality of J. Howard McGrath. Political detractors have called the former governor of the state and organizational heavyweight of its Democratic Party cold, unsympathetic, and crafty. Yet even his detractors grant that McGrath is gregarious, patient, and never too busy to listen to what others have to offer in the way of advice or information.

His political record in Rhode Island mirrors these two aspects of his character. Whatever his motives, McGrath was more New Deal than the New Deal on several occasions. Such socially progressive projects as a state-wide juvenile court, cash sickness insurance for workers (the nation's first), and a state center for the treatment of injured workers were established during his slightly less than three terms as governor. McGrath worked hard for these projects and enjoys taking credit for them.

On the other hand, he has consistently shown a calculated coolness to labor, a distrust for federal sponsorship of socially progressive legislation that interferes with his version of state's rights, and a marked ability to gain the confidence—or at least the tolerance—of powerful business interests. Even the most hardened conservative will agree that he has no designs on free enterprise.

In warning against the dangers of federal invasion of state's rights, McGrath once advanced a scheme for a New England regional agency to offset competitive advantages granted by the federal government to other parts of the country. But his well-known ability to gain the confidence of conservative business elements was revealed most dramatically, perhaps, in 1945, when Royal Little, head of Textron, Inc., appointed him a trustee of Little's Rhode Island Charities Trust, a device for giving the Textron wizard tax-exempt investment mobility.

The key to this puzzling personality seems to be ambition. J. Howard McGrath has never allowed anything—difficulties, criticism, pleasure, delicacy of feeling—to stand in the way of his ambition to rise to social, political, and economic eminence. He is a living illustration of the truth of all the Victorian platitudes about attention to duty, application, hard work, and the rest being the keys to realizing the goals of ambition.



Seligson

J. Howard McGrath

McGrath was born on November 28, 1903, in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, a textile town. His father, an Irish immigrant, was foreman in a knitting mill. The elder McGrath had once organized a labor union and, more important, was active in the Independent Order of Foresters, a fraternal group dedicated chiefly to the sale of insurance to members. The Foresters were to have a profound effect upon the future Democratic politician.

As a boy, McGrath showed an awesome determination to win, not athletic honors, but material things and the recognition of his will to succeed. Once he won a soldering kit (worth $2) and a free photograph of himself in a soldering contest sponsored by a Providence department store. He won a camera for his work in a Salvation Army drive during World War I. Later, in college, he won a circulation contest sponsored by Senator Peter G. Gerry's old Providence *News*. The prize was a Packard automobile. The victory brought young McGrath to the attention of Gerry and his imported, ex-Tammany campaign adviser, General Henry Dewitt Hamilton.

At La Salle Academy, the big parochial boys' high school in Providence, and Providence College, a small Dominican institution, his academic record was always excellent, if short of brilliant. His extra-curricular interests ran to public speaking, managing school publications, running class social events. During most of his youth he was his father's constant companion in work for the Foresters. The elder McGrath went all over New England to outings, conclaves, initiations, and so on; Howard often went with him. He could make a good platform speech by the time he was fourteen. His knowledge of the membership lists and of organizational procedure became enormous. Forester membership lists were the basis of his victory in the *News* circulation contest.

On afternoons and Saturdays while Howard was in

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high school he worked a flower concession in a Providence five-and-dime store. A youngster named Samuel Shore had the fruit counter in the same store. The two became lifelong friends and later organized a supermarket chain together. McGrath worked at the men's-collar counter of a Providence department store during college years and taught a Sunday School class at the state reform school for boys.

Already, his industry and virtue were beginning to bring dividends. He became a protégé of the Gerry-Hamilton political group and for a time spent two hours a day in the office of General Hamilton, learning what the aged veteran of New York politics had to teach. In college he organized and became the first president of the Young Democratic League of Rhode Island. He went from Providence College to Boston University Law School, and before he had finished law school, had been named vice-chairman of the Democratic State Committee. On Thanksgiving Day, 1929, McGrath married Estelle Cadorette, daughter of a Central Falls, Rhode Island, Democratic politician and Forester. The marriage was not without its advantages, for the Cadorettes are what is known locally as a "Franco-American" family and had considerable political influence with French-Canadian voters. Not long after the young couple began housekeeping in Central Falls, McGrath was named city solicitor. The following year he was made chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

McGRATH'S career for the next fifteen years has been described as meteoric and lucky, which it was. But to keep on top required extremely adroit log-rolling. The Rhode Island Democrats of that era were not thoughtful, humanitarian New Dealers but two-fisted individualists who sensed the trend of the times and were not above scrambling for the fruits of victory. There were Tom McCoy, the Pawtucket boss who wanted to be governor; Walter O'Hara, a rowdy race-track owner, for a time McCoy's ally; Colonel Patrick Quinn, the shrewd leader in West Warwick; his fiery nephew, Robert (O'Hara's sworn enemy), and Theodore Francis Green, the party's urbane "statesman." McGrath had to be sure his own star did not fade out of this constellation.

One of the methods he used was to keep a firm grip on patronage. When Rhode Island Democrats swept in with Roosevelt in 1932, McGrath became the contact man with Jim Farley for federal patronage. It was freely predicted that he would select a nice, ripe plum for himself. He did. He became the youngest United States attorney the district ever had.

The two most sensational cases which McGrath conducted as United States attorney were typically lucky for him. One was an investigation, under the Hatch act, of alleged contributions made to politicians by the Narragansett Racing Association—that is, Walter O'Hara and his Narragansett race track. Indictments were returned by a grand jury but were dropped because of a procedural defect. McGrath, on advice from Washington that renewal of the investigation was up to his discretion, called off further inquiry.

The second case played brilliantly into his hands. It was an investigation into wire-tapping at the homes of Tom McCoy, then mayor of Pawtucket—whose antipathy to McGrath had waned—and Louis Jackvony, attorney general of the state. The governor at the time was William Vanderbilt, a Republican. During the famous Quinn-O'Hara feud the Democrats had fought their way valiantly to a Republican victory in 1938. Vanderbilt admitted having hired a private detective agency to do wire tapping but denied having ordered taps on the phones of McCoy and Jackvony. The result of the episode was to open the governor's office to McGrath.

After the Quinn and Vanderbilt regimes, Rhode Island was ready for the undramatic but competent kind of administration McGrath gave it. His mistakes were few. Although he had a Republican Senate against him, he rarely gave it a chance to quarrel with him, except perhaps over appointments. His progressive achievements, already noted, won at least the silence of liberals, and his organization of the State Council of Defense had no serious flaws.

One thing which helps to explain McGrath's rise to power in Rhode Island politics is the size of the Catholic vote; according to 1950 estimates of religious affiliations, Catholics number 431,240, Protestants 108,341, Jews 27,000. Rhode Island, of course, is a geographic freak—twenty by fifty miles in area, with 90 per cent of the population concentrated around the top of Narragansett Bay. Since it is a highly urbanized industrial state, the farm and small-town vote of the western half is not significant. In the normal course of events Rhode Island would have gone over to the Democratic Party seventy-five years ago, but nowhere were Yankee industrialists and financiers more successful in keeping political power, It was not until the mid-1920's that the property qualification for voters was removed. The Irish, first on the scene among the immigrants, were the first Catholic group to attain status and power; so they naturally furnished the leadership for the political upheaval which followed removal of the property qualification. McGrath was one of those leaders.

McGrath's energies, the record is plain, have been dedicated primarily to self and to party. An unknown lieutenant once wryly remarked, "With Howard, Howard always comes first." McGrath has never devoted time to evolving a political philosophy—except perhaps the philosophy of practical politics; he has never stood out as the imaginative creator of bold, well-documented plans for public service, for social welfare, or for governmental betterment. Even his medical-center and cash-

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sickness-insurance projects were frankly designed as examples of the way states could halt federal developments in the field of social legislation.

His private business interests have multiplied. He is a law partner of Theodore Francis Green—he allied himself with Green as the Gerry-Hamilton star grew dim. In 1937 he organized and became president of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Providence. For a time he was a director of the Pawtucket Broadcasting Company, owned by his close friend, the late Frank Crook, a Pawtucket car dealer. The radio property was sold recently to the Providence Journal Company. He is a director of Flightex Company and of the American Octenator Company and is a partner of Sam Shore in the supermarket chain. He and Crook also developed Bonnet Shores, a highly profitable Narragansett Bay resort colony. Estimates of his personal fortune range from two to four million dollars.

J. Howard McGrath has found it easy to combine politics and business and make the mixture pay off.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

The Foot in the Door

BY JEROME NATHANSON

AMERICAN life is shot through with paradoxes. But though we accept them as temporary necessities, this does not mean that we ought to regard them as a permanent good. On the contrary, we should expose them for what they are in the hope of eliminating them as quickly as possible. In no area is this more apparent and necessary than in the relation of organized religion to public education.

To illustrate: gambling is nowadays deplored as a national scandal, which it is. The churches are in the forefront of its condemners, as they should be. Many of them attribute this and other evils in our common life to deficiencies in our public-school system. But education is not just a matter of schooling. Other social institutions play an important part in everyone's education, some a more important part than the schools themselves. Organized religion is one of these institutions. And the paradox is that the very churches which condemn gambling actually profit from it, through their use of lotteries, raffles, and bingo games.

Again: delinquency and moral confusion are attributed to the secular character of our public-school system. The churches avowedly want to reduce, and ultimately to eliminate, delinquency and moral confusion. Now modern psychiatry has demonstrated that emotional conflicts are largely responsible for the evils in question. These emotional conflicts, in turn, are frequently engendered by childhood experiences and attitudes, foremost among them being the sexual. An education which contributes to healthy attitudes about sexual and kindred matters, accordingly, is one that helps to prevent delinquency and moral confusion, which is what the churches say they want. Yet these same churches make it impossible for us to get this educational emphasis into most of our school systems.

And further: education for democracy rests on the proposition that, by and large and in the long run, human abilities are adequate to deal with human problems. The public-school system of a democracy, therefore, has as its primary obligation the instilling of faith in this proposition and the development of skills which can give reality to it. The churches persistently proclaim their support of the democratic faith. At the same time many of them are organized around a theology which denies that man is adequate to the tasks confronting him, and the religious insistence on human inadequacy is deemed a necessary part of democratic education.

This is a portion of the context in which we have to view the menacing inroads which organized religion is trying to make on our public-school system. The lack of honesty in much of the accompanying propaganda is a depressing commentary on some of the persons purportedly concerned with moral rectitude.

For example, we are sometimes reminded that since none of the founders of the American Republic were educated in secular schools, a religiously inspired education was responsible for our liberties, and that these liberties are now being betrayed because we have "banned God from the curriculum." Evidently, it is a matter of no moment to these critics of secular education that totalitarianism did not arise here but in Catholic Italy and Spain, in Orthodox Russia, and in Catholic-Lutheran-pietistic Germany. Now of course the founders of the Republic were educated in schools which were

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JEROME NATHANSON is a leader of the Ethical Culture Society and chairman of the Committee on Federal Aid to Education. He is the author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of Democratic Life." This is the fourth of a series of articles on the dangers confronting democratic education.

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religiously oriented: there were no other schools in America. But it was they and their children who laid the groundwork for the secular system we know today.

That system was a long time building, and instead of attacking it, we should be eternally grateful for its tremendous contribution to democratic civilization. *E pluribus unum*: out of the many, one; unity in diversity. This is not merely an American idea. It is the genius of American life. And no other institution has played so important a part in its development as the public-school system, which, while respecting individual and group differences, has also given generations of Americans a pervasive sense of their stake in a common life.

The public schools of this country became secular for the profoundly persuasive reason that they could not have existed at all on any other ground. They cannot today continue to exist on any other ground. And the more we Balkanize our educational system through resorting to parochial schools—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—the more we undermine our basic democratic faith in unity in diversity. That the parochial-school system is constitutional, as determined by the Supreme Court in the Oregon case, is by no means the same thing as its being desirable. It is high time that the laity, as well as the ministry, in each of the denominations started to think out again this whole proposition in its bearing on the future of the democratic way of life.

NOW there is an intimate tie-up between religion in education and the parochial school. V. T. Thayer's "The Attack upon the American Secular School," a brilliant survey of the entire situation, is enlightening in this as in other respects. In part, the parochial school arose in protest against the sectarian religious emphasis in our public schools of an earlier day. In the beginning schools had a denominational character. When members of different Protestant groups began to get their education in the same schools, denominational rivalries were eliminated only by giving religious instruction of a generally Protestant character. Obviously, this was offensive to Catholics as it was to Jews, to say nothing of agnostics and those of other faiths and attitudes. And since the Catholics, in addition, believe that religion should permeate the curriculum, and since it was patent that Catholicism could not do so in the public schools of predominantly Protestant America, they resorted to separatism.

This separatism in education has had serious consequences, as Paul Blanshard's articles in *The Nation* and his last two books have clearly demonstrated. Among other things, it has blocked desperately needed federal financial assistance to the public schools for thirty years. It has blocked it because the American hierarchy has steadfastly opposed any federal-aid measure which does not also provide support for parochial schools, and because Congress has cravenly sidestepped the issue. In one state after the other the hierarchy has gained free textbooks and free bus transportation for children attending parochial schools—thus, in the constitutional name of equal treatment for all children, receiving indirect public subsidy for its own separatist movement.

Nor has the Catholic church confined its efforts to the parochial schools. Its successful infringements on the independence of the public-school system—as in the case of the banning of *The Nation* from public-school libraries, the Fordham University professors' protest against the curriculum-guide bulletin used in the New York City schools, the employment of priests and nuns as public-school teachers, the control of local school boards—have steadily increased.

The activities of the Catholic church have been paralleled by those of other religious groups. Various Protestant denominations and some Jewish groups have begun to concentrate on the development of their own parochial schools. In part this has been a reaction to the growing strength and influence of the Catholic separatist movement, in part an attempt to deal with their own institutional insecurities. But as of now, the separatist movement among Protestants has been less significant than their forays against the integrity of the public-school system.

The most momentous of these, of course, has been the practice of released time, whereby pupils who have received parental authorization are released from school early in order to attend religious classes. A blatant violation of the schools' independence has been the holding of such classes in public-school buildings, a practice held unconstitutional by an eight-to-one vote of the Supreme Court in the McCollum case, but one persisting in a number of localities, doubtless as a religious contribution to moral law and order! The court has not yet clearly ruled on released time when classes are not held in public-school buildings. In the opinion of many of us, this too is a violation of the constitutional provision for separation of church and state, because of its use of public-school personnel and facilities for attendance and the keeping of records, and because dismissal from school work for religious instruction is taken to be within the scope of state requirements for school attendance. But constitutional or not, the practice of released time has had a destructively divisive effect on children, separating them in terms of religious affiliation at the very time and in the very place in which they should get a sense of united efforts and common aims.

Hardly less serious in its divisive implications is Bible reading in the public schools, a merely permissive practice in some states but compulsory in others. The constitutionality of the requirement is now being challenged in the New Jersey Doremus case. Seemingly the reading of the Bible is an innocent-enough practice, even if its

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educational efficacy is highly questionable. But if it is done for purposes of subtle indoctrination—and if not for this purpose, why is it done at all?—then apparently this too is a breach of the wall separating church and state. Equally important is the consideration that the Bible is indisputably a sectarian book, even though various courts have held otherwise. The Protestant King James version is in some respects offensive to Catholics. The New Testament is in some respects offensive to Jews. While for those who are neither Catholics, Protestants, nor Jews—and there are at present more than 70,000,000 unchurched Americans—the Bible in whatever version, granted its importance, is no more sacred than many other books.

Precisely the same considerations hold with respect to recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools. Nor does there seem to be much doubt that the increasing custom of holding public-school commencement exercises in church buildings, or of having members of the clergy officiate at such exercises, helps to bring church and state closer than they ought constitutionally to be.

EACH of these practices is evidence of a concern for the religious education of American youth. And a number of spokesmen for organized religion are taking a new tack in their effort to get more of a religious orientation into the public-school system. They contend that the First Amendment to the Constitution, applied to the several states by the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, does not mean what the court has taken it to mean. The court has said that the prohibition of an established religion means, in Jefferson's language, a wall of separation between church and state, and that neither one religion nor all religions together may receive state support. The present-day spokesmen in opposition are insisting, ever more vehemently, that this interpretation is a violation of American traditions, and that while the First Amendment clearly prohibits the establishment of any one church, it does not mean that religion as such is not to be aided or is to be barred from American education. This argument is used not only in behalf of released time and Bible reading in the public schools but also, and far more insidiously, as the rationale for long-range support of parochial schools. Despite the occasional persuasiveness of these spokesmen, the weight of objective scholarship and of the American tradition is decisively against them and with the court.

Quite apart from the constitutional argument, however, religion has no place in the public schools of the United States. Yet leaders in education are today of divided minds on this question, put on the defensive as they have been by the steady attacks on the so-called "godlessness" of our schools. Some believe that our moral life is in a precarious state, that morality depends upon organized religion, and that the schools, therefore, one way or another, must provide religious instruction for the children of America. In their effort not to violate the principle of separation of church and state, they urge that while religious indoctrination would be unconstitutional, teaching about religion would not be, and ought properly to be as much part of the school curriculum as science or literature.

This contention sounds plausible enough, until one asks how it is to be done. If one could have instruction in religion analogous to instruction in science and literature, with a critical-minded approach not merely tolerated but actively encouraged, it would doubtless be a good thing. But the most vociferous spokesmen for organized religion in education do not want religious education in this sense, and they would be the first to cry bloody murder if their respective denominational tenets were subjected to critical examination. They want, not religious education, but religious indoctrination. They want, not a study of the Bible, but an acceptance of the Bible. And these things have no place on public-school premises in public-school time. If we are ever mature enough as a people to have genuine religious education in our schools, we shall be fortunate. Until then, the place for religion is outside the schools.

But this is not a counsel of despair. The premise from which the advocates of organized religion in education take their departure is a false one. We have only to look around us, to say nothing of examining the historical record, to learn that there is absolutely no necessary relation between organized religion and morality. There have been scoundrels as well as saints within the churches, just as there have been saints as well as scoundrels outside them. And analyses of criminal statistics have shown that the overwhelming majority of criminals have been church members, presumably in good standing.

That religious denominations have had to keep their hands off the schools has not meant a lack of moral and spiritual values in education. On the contrary, now as in the past, American education has been as effective in helping children to an appreciation of these values as any system ever devised. But schools were never meant to do the job of homes and churches, and compensation for weaknesses there should not be sought in the educational system. When it is, sectarian divisiveness displaces the sense of a unified community of interest and effort. When it is, sectarian "sacred cows" displace independent and critical thought. When it is, respect for ecclesiastical authority displaces respect for persons.

Education in a democracy ought to be education for democracy, and not for anything else. Nothing is more important for democracy than encouragement of the possibilities of every child, and only an education which has this and this alone as its central concern is worthy of a democratic society.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The First Roosevelt

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes III and IV. The Square Deal, 1901-1905. Selected and Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard University Press. $20.

THE office of President of the United States was becoming to Theodore Roosevelt, and therefore these two new instalments of his voluminous correspondence are more engaging as well as more significant than the previous two volumes, published last April and covering the years 1868-1900. Before he was President as a result of McKinley's assassination and then became President by overwhelming vote in 1904, Theodore Roosevelt's biases were crude, and after he had left the Presidency they became bitter. During his term of office, covered by these letters, he remained intolerant of criticism except from close admirers, but he comes out as a man sure of himself without the necessity of being quite so cocksure.

These two volumes are fascinating because of the number of important subjects on which they reveal facts, motives, and nuances, and they bring out once more the amazing scope of Roosevelt's interests and energies. The relations of capital and labor during a critical period, the emergence of Japan as a modern power during the Russo-Japanese War, the attitudes of the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar, and the acquisition and construction of the Panama Canal are merely the main subjects of interest in these letters. Roosevelt's personal preferences and dislikes, his ebullient enthusiasm for his friends and family, and his exasperated impatience with opponents and critics gave savor to almost every letter he wrote.

The letters in these volumes concerning the great coal strike of 1902, which went on from May until October, illustrate vividly how much government influence, machinery, and authority have increased since the days of the other Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt did not feel able to use the great influence of his office to bring about a settlement until winter threatened a coal famine and street disorders in large cities—and, incidentally, until almost time for the Congressional elections, when, if the Republicans lost the Senate and the House, Roosevelt's own reelection in 1904 might be threatened. Even then he did not really settle the strike, though in letter after letter he patted himself on the back for doing so. It was the pressure of J. P. Morgan the elder, upon whom the President of the United States had to call, that brought about the final settlement and caused the coal men, still arrogant, at least to sit in the same room with United Mine Workers' leaders and arbitrators.

In the course of his Presidency, Roosevelt gained experience with the stubborn selfishness of industrialists and financiers as well as with the efforts at pressure tactics of labor-union leaders. He kept insisting in his letters that he would not favor a rich man because he was rich or a poor man because of his poverty. He was wary of the Standard Oil Company bearing a $100,000 campaign contribution, which he insisted should be returned, but which his campaign managers did not return. Some of these letters deal with the famous Northern Securities case and other attempts to curb monopoly. Roosevelt had the attitude toward trusts that he had toward other entities: he was not against them as such but against their violations of justice, or law. He believed in publicity for their structure and regulation through the Bureau of Corporations, but Theodore Roosevelt had no burning desire to destroy the trusts.

These letters indicate an intensely practical idealism on the part of a skilful politician and statesman. He worked with some of the most predatory political bosses in the United States and was impatient with reformers who thought it wrong of him to do so. He took sides in the interests of the United States against Latin American dictators and was enraged at critics who called him imperialistic for it as well as for his refusal to grant Philippine independence until he felt the Filipinos were ready for it. He was steadfast in his refusal to bow to the pressure of the Roman Catholic church, and his courage in this respect, as amply revealed in these letters, was greater than that of his successors. He did not look for trouble from the church, but when it tried to make some in relation to church property in the Philippines, he remained firm in serving the public rather than private interests. In dealing with big business men Roosevelt soon found to his disappointment that they had little to offer him in the way of constructive programs and confined their attention rigidly to their own immediate welfare. He was aware, too, that he could only accomplish either development or reform when there was a large body of public sentiment behind him, and he knew, on occasion, how to stimulate that sentiment effectively.

In view of later events, the letters on Russia and Japan are perhaps the most fascinating in these volumes. The Russians of the days of Nicholas II were no easier to deal with than those of the days of Stalin, and Roosevelt's complaints of duplicity, mendacity, and seemingly eternal effort to wear down an opponent by sheer exasperation form a useful background for current cold-war tensions. In foreign affairs, these letters reveal, Theodore Roosevelt's insight and foresight were faultless. It is an oversimplification, to say the least, to call him a "jingo." He believed in the future of his own country if it remained militarily strong, and he believed in the future of other great nations. He wrote to Sir Cecil Spring Rice on March 19, 1904, of his admiration for the Russians and added: "But I do not believe in the future of any race *while it is under a crushing despotism*" (the italics are Roosevelt's). And he added in the same letter: "A society of which a bloated trust magnate is accepted quite simply as the ideal is in a rotten condition." The German people he felt were too much under the thumb of the Kaiser, whom he regarded as "altogether too jumpy, too volatile in his policies, too lacking in the power of continuous and sustained thought and action for me to feel that he is in

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any way such a man as for instance Taft or Root." The Czar, he wrote to John Hay on April 2, 1905, "is a preposterous little creature as the absolute autocrat of 150,000,000 people." The English of his day he found "heavy-witted" and tending toward decadence. Japan, he felt, had made wondrous strides but must be watched because it had been so much insulted by white men that it was likely to turn upon them when occasion offered.

These letters are full of interesting sidelights on the omnivorous character of a conspicuous man who devoured literature the way he did exercise. Whenever anything pleased or displeased him he rushed to grab a pen or fire volleys at secretaries. The telephone has probably made it impossible for us to enjoy so much of the gusto of our later leaders.

M. R. WERNER

The Scars of "Negroness"

ON BEING NEGRO IN AMERICA. By J. Saunders Redding. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

THIS brief auto-psychoanalysis is one of the most effective statements in recent literature of the constant conflict experienced by the Negro between his reactions as a normal human being and those which life in America requires of him. Professor Redding of Hampton Institute, the author of four other books (of which three will probably have more than passing significance), talks out his problem in the following key paragraph:

> From adolescence to death there is something very personal about being a Negro in America. It is like having a second ego which is as much the conscious subject of all experience as the natural self. It is not what the psychologists call dual personality. It is more complex and, I think, more morbid than that. In the state of which I speak, one receives two distinct impacts from certain experiences and one undergoes two distinct reactions—the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other, entirely different but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness.

He then cites an incident to drive home his point. As a normal human being he was moved to pity when he saw a woman, drunk or sick and clad only in a ragged slip, stagger into a neighbor-

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ing backyard in Louisville on an extremely cold day. On the other hand, he felt "a gloating satisfaction that she was white."

Although the author wisely disclaims the right to speak for anyone but himself, his almost uncontrollable delight in the presence of the white man's misfortune is shared by large numbers of Negroes. Some of them have exulted in formal literature; others have contributed to an extensive folklore that would shock those who profess to "know" the Negro. Many others have probably rejoiced in silence.

While the author therefore reveals little that is new to students of Negro life and thought, his contribution requires serious consideration. For it is the mature, restrained, eloquent denunciation of evil by a sensitive man of good-will. Professor Redding has not suffered the physical brutalities that have led some Negro authors to pour forth their bitterness. He is no Communist. (I have a feeling that he devotes too much space to the interesting story of the party's unsuccessful attempts to woo him in the early 1930's, but the incident in which he fled from the embraces of a woman member—fled not only because of his intellectual rejection of communism but also because of the fact that she was white—does develop his main theme.) His restrained indignation is all the more significant because he lays it bare at a time when the status of the Negro, even in the Deep South, has measurably improved. He has not hesitated to proclaim his adherence to integration through intermarriage even though he teaches in a state where segregation is still largely enforced and intermarriage is forbidden by law. Above all, his book will bring delight to lovers of literary craftsmanship, though the style is at times a bit lofty.

The talking out of the problem did not produce the therapeutic value that the author had hoped for. It was perhaps impeded by the fact that one of his sons, largely as the result of a cruel incident when he was eight years old, also carries the scar of Negroness. In the end Redding finds solace in the thought that "Christianity promises a cure for our American sickness. But it must be made truly a way of life in which the dignity and brotherhood of man is the first principle." White Americans must, of course, cleanse themselves of the sins which are largely responsible for Negroness. Too many Southern white liberals still believe that "'in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent overpowering factors in the situation.'" This belief on their part contributes to the reluctance of the government of the United States to include in the First Draft Covenant on Human Rights articles dealing with social, economic, and cultural rights. Despite Redding's lack of enthusiasm for gradualism, I hope that the combined efforts of gradualists, integrationists, and sincere "Christians" will accelerate the attainment of equal rights for all men.

None the less, I wonder whether, having been a Negro in America, I can ever throw off the curse of Negroness. I read the book while en route to France. My table mate was a German, a fundamentally decent man, who won my sympathy because of his evident poverty. On the other hand, I had diffi-

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culty in not gloating over his genteel shabbiness because he belonged to the former Herrenvolk and I am a descendant of the Sklavenvolk. In brief, Redding's disturbing book has vital meaning not only for America in 1951 but for the world, and will have, I fear, for many years to come.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Portraits by Ivan Bunin

MEMORIES AND PORTRAITS. By Ivan Bunin. Translated by Vera Traill and Robin Chancellor. Doubleday and Company. $3.

WHEN a literary man paints a series of portraits, the figure in the foreground, providing ideological unity, is often himself. This thirteen-chapter book opens and ends and is interspersed with autobiography. None of the portraits are full-length; none have an objective candor. In each case it is Bunin-Tolstoy or Bunin-Gorki. But more than that, the author's evaluations cannot be understood without reference to his personal story in old and new Russia. For just as Ivan Bunin's life broke sharply into two sections—before and after revolution—so does this book.

The reader is given little historical material in which to frame individual portraits and no dates of composition. One unfamiliar with literary Russia would draw fantastic conclusions from the evidence of this book. Nevertheless, three pre-revolutionary sketches—those of Leo Tolstoy, Ertel, and Chekhov—are valuable in themselves. Each of these writers is shown through observed detail, suggestively. The aging Tolstoy, for example, is described as having "a kind of clumsy dexterity"; he moved "with a quick, slightly bobbing gait"; his eyes were "alert like an animal's"; his beard "dry, flimsy, uneven, and transparent," and "he spoke as hastily as he walked." In the case of Ertel—known to Americans only through Tolstoy's introduction to his collected fiction—Bunin is interested in rescuing a forgotten writer from oblivion. There is a kinship between author and subject, and the reader too feels sympathy toward this Ertel, who preached moderation and struggled passionately to attain it himself. But the chapter on Chekhov is easily the best in the book. (It was first published in English in 1921.) Bunin's viewpoint in this essay is not new, but his incidents are unforgettable. Chekhov is seen talking about literature to a fellow-craftsman, with his contradictions unresolved. He "says funny things without the flicker of a smile," and at somebody else's humor laughs "almost as if it hurt him." Believing that a writer, whether a big or little dog, should "bark with whatever voice God had given him," his worst insult is "untalented." Critics called Chekhov a gloomy pessimist, but his living was a denial of the charge, and this portrait is a further denial.

Such sketches come from the artist Bunin, familiar to Americans as the Nobel prize winner and the author of that flawless story "The Gentleman from San Francisco." Unfortunately, the other chapters in the book reach no such high level and cannot be judged by literary standards. For they reveal a non-political author who has been twisted out of shape by the course of politics. Instead of a restrained voice, Bunin shouts. Instead of the measured word, he pours on invective. Are these chapters notes from the author's files, accumulated over the years? Or are they the work of an eighty-one-year-old émigré who during the Nazi occupation of Paris was reduced to poverty? In any case the obsessive theme of success and failure runs through these portraits of contemporaries. And whereas Bunin is kind to the inconsequential prince, who tried to write and failed, and to Kuprin who sank lower and lower with the years, he cannot forgive those Soviet authors who achieved popular success.

Bunin's anger against Bolshevism and against the writers who came to terms with it sets the mood of the later essays. Whoever is raised to a high position in the U. S. S. R.—such as Blok, Mayakovsky, or Alexei Tolstoy—he demotes. His aim seems to be character vilification rather than literary appraisal. And Maxim Gorki is the arch-enemy. Not only is a chapter devoted to him, but there are references to him all through the book. Bunin knew him as a friend for two decades, and claims to feel no hostility toward him. Yet the ugliness of the author's images betray him: Gorki's smile is described as "comically stupid," his forehead as "wrinkled like a monkey," and his walk as having "a certain slinking gracefulness typical . . . of thieves."

This reviewer, being unfamiliar with literary life in Soviet Russia and émigré Paris, is in no position to judge their rival claims. But if Soviet literary biographies need to be corrected, Bunin is not the critic to undertake the work. Like many another Russian author of this and the nineteenth century, he has found it hard to survive exile. These portraits of his focus upon trivialities and take on puppet rather than human shapes. And the reader is left speculating on the state of mind of the author.

Literary history makes strange part-

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nerships. Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, who never met, are forever linked in the classroom. So in the pages of criticism Gorki is likely to cohabit with Bunin—the Soviet and the émigré voice. Gorki as a literary biographer (Tolstoy, Chekhov, Andreyev, and Korolenko) has qualities of genius. In generations to come it will be Bunin's unhappy fate to have his own book assigned to students on the same day as Gorki's.

ANITA MARBURG

Books in Brief

SIDDHARTHA. By Hermann Hesse. Translated by Hilda Rosner. New Directions. $1.50. A superb English translation by Hilda Rosner of the Swiss Nobel Prize winner's allegory of man's search for the meaning of life. Siddhartha, a contemporary of Buddha, submits to every form of human experience before finding peace in a death-conquering conception of the unity of time. The cool and strangely simple story makes a beautiful little book, classic in proportion and style; it should be read slowly and with savor, preferably during the lonely hours of the night.

WEEKEND AT DUNKIRK. By Robert Merle. Translated from the French by K. Rebillon-Lambley. Knopf. $3. This war novel, by one of the new school of Algerian-born French writers, was awarded the Prix Goncourt; but American readers, while recognizing its qualities of unflinching honesty and understated compassion, and appreciating its grimly nihilistic picture of the Dunkirk débâcle, are likely to feel that it tells them little that they have not already learned from earlier war novels, regardless of locale.

GODS, GRAVES, AND SCHOLARS. By C. W. Ceram. Knopf. $5.75. The story of the great archaeologists and their discoveries at Pompeii and Troy, and in Crete, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Sumeria, and Yucatan. An admirable book for the layman, written with zest and packed with information. Translated from the German by E. B. Garside. With many illustrations.

CONTRIBUTORS

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is at present in Paris, where he is making a study of French colonial administration.

ANITA MARBURG is a member of the faculty of the University of Colorado.

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

IN THE routine practice of his profession your critic must be guilty of a double impertinence: telling his betters what they should write and his equals what they should enjoy. Only now and then does he feel called upon to aggravate his offense by undertaking to give instruction to his fellow-impertinents. But the occasion does arise, and it has done so in connection with Maxwell Anderson's new play "Barefoot in Athens" (Martin Beck Theater). It got some favorable notices, but it got also some very bad ones in very important places. And to me it seems that the authors of those bad notices simply missed the point.

Since Mr. Anderson was the author and Socrates the subject, they not unnaturally expected a big bow-wow play—a Tragedy in all probability and certainly a ringing protest against the opponents of free speech. Often enough in the past they have rebuked the author for being too much given to precisely that sort of thing. Yet they failed to recognize the fact that what they are offered here is not a big play but a little one—certainly not a Tragedy but

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something which might be called, without an intolerable stretching of the term, Comedy. For a comedy can end in death provided only the right man dies and takes it in the right way. Which was exactly the case with Socrates.

As Mr. Anderson sees him, this Socrates was a humorous, gently pestiferous old fellow living in a cosy, small-town Athens which took itself seriously without quite realizing just how much its achievements were going to impress the twentieth century. He was utterly sincere, and he was courageous with a kind of unspectacular courage of which only the simple are capable; but he was not at all Heroic with a capital H. Now this is pretty much the figure which not a few scholars have thought they could detect behind the touched-up Hero of the Platonic dialogues, and Barry Jones plays the part in a subtle low key which makes that figure come very charmingly alive. This Socrates lives in loving discord with a Xantippe who, wife-like, is not always sure just why virtue cannot be combined with a reasonable degree of prosperity, and this part is also beautifully played by Lotte Lenya. He may even, in the remote past, have been guilty of a little casual dalliance with Theodote, the courtesan from Corinth.

Considered as a play about free speech, the tone of "Barefoot in Athens" is more like that of "An Enemy of the People" or "St. Joan" than like what one has come to expect in the simpler, more hortatory, more self-righteous discourses on the subject so familiar today. Socrates is a little like Dr. Stockman because he exemplifies an unworldliness which he realizes—as Dr. Stockman does not—cannot possibly succeed in the world. In method the play is a great deal more like "St. Joan," partly because Mr. Anderson, like Shaw, gives some of the best and most powerful speeches to the enemy, notably King Pausanias's little discourse upon the advantages of a totalitarian state where the people have the economic security which is the only important thing while enjoying freedom from the necessity of troubling themselves with political problems, and the much more powerful and persuasive speech of the chief prosecutor at the trial, who grants Socrates his intelligence and his good intentions but maintains that, just as the fundamental desirability of life itself must not be questioned, so no society can possibly endure unless it be permitted to accept certain premises as beyond dispute. A skepticism which is actually universal produces a paralysis of which some people who believe in something will inevitably take advantage.

The differences between the thesis of Mr. Anderson's play and that of "St. Joan" are the differences between Joan and Socrates, which reflect, I imagine, differences between the temperaments of the authors who chose them. Joan is as positive and as downright as her opponents. In a sense she is no less intolerant. She is as sure of the rightness of her new ideas as they are of their old ones. But Socrates is the skeptical liberal, precisely the kind of man for whom our age has generally so little respect because, except perhaps in his own conduct, he puts so little into effect. He could not possibly be a Hero in so far as the term implies a leader of majorities, even liberal majorities, but just because he cannot be a Hero he becomes a Saint. He is too Greek not to be haunted by the suspicion that the ideal exists only in the mind and that the realizable always falls short. Utopia is literally nowhere, and the Republic will never exist except in the discourse of friends. He is surprised but not too much surprised, and he is not at all disconcerted when his death is voted. Even Athens is an actual city not an ideal one. Moreover, men will in the end understand the idea of freedom better because of his death. Had he been acquitted he would have been forgotten. Athens is the noblest city which ever existed, perhaps the noblest that ever will exist, but it cannot quite assimilate Socrates.

In the past Mr. Anderson has been accused of an easy pessimism, and if I read this play aright it makes clearer than he has ever made it before what his pessimistic liberalism means. To those driven by their optimism to say that because Americans are not completely free, what we call democracy is no different from totalitarianism, Socrates replies that what we have is at least as good as what any society ever managed to achieve for itself. Perhaps one should continue to ask for the impossible. But one should not be either too surprised or too distressed if one does not get it.

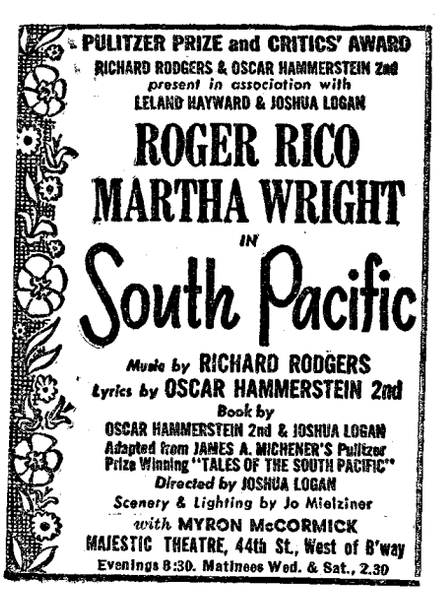
Music

B. H. HAGGIN

MOST of Nicolas Nabokov's "Old Friends and New Music" (Little, Brown, $3.50) was published originally in the *Atlantic Monthly;* and I find his discussion of Shostakovitch as accurately perceptive now as when I quoted from it in this column years ago—by which I mean of course that I recognize in Mr. Nabokov's statements what I have heard in the music. On the other hand, rereading what he says about Prokofiev's music I again find that it doesn't acquire meaning for me in that way.

The accounts of personal experiences with Diaghilev, Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Balanchine, Koussevitzky also are as interesting and entertaining as they were —the products of a highly observant and effective raconteur. This time however I have been aware of the raconteur straining for color and humor in language and metaphor; and I have detected inaccurate details and formulations at certain points which have created uncertainty whether the stories are reliable at other points.

Even when I read the account of Nijinsky's 1927 visit to a performance of the Diaghilev Ballet in the *Atlantic* I noticed that Mr. Nabokov spoke of it as a performance of "The Firebird" when in fact it was one of "Petrouchka"; and the mistake was the more curious since he referred to the "now famous photograph" taken after the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performance, in which Karsavina is in the now famous costume of the Ballerina in "Petrouchka." But it seemed an isolated detail and less consequential then than now. The story takes off from the incident of Lifar's appearance before the curtain of City Center three years ago, which reminds Mr. Nabokov of Lifar's early days, and of the occasion when Diaghilev had Nijinsky brought from his sanatorium to the performance in order to get him to express admiration of his newest find. And one thing I am struck by now is what—in the course of a derisive description of Lifar as an "obedient show dog" of Diaghilev and his choreographers, and later as an absurd impersonator of Nijinsky—Mr. Nabokov says about him as a dancer: "Lifar, having acquired a splendid technical skill as a corps de ballet dancer, had quickly risen to the position of a star, and thus had become a *faute de mieux* successor of Nijinsky." This statement in its context is an example of Mr. Nabokov's way of stating fact with pejorative implications—in this case, that Lifar's artistic stature didn't equal his status in the Diaghilev company. A statement of the facts without these pejorative implications would be that Lifar, beginning in the corps, quickly rose to the position of star by virtue not of a brilliant technique but of extraordinary powers of presence and expressive projection which enabled this childish and absurd person—placed on a set and lighted stage in costume and make-up, directed by Balanchine, and kept under control by Diaghilev—to produce the appearances, the illusions of splendor, grandeur, beauty, and wit that it is the task of a great dancer to produce. And if Mr. Nabokov gives a wrong impression of Lifar in this respect, one wonders about his story of Lifar's wearing bathing trunks under his evening clothes to do Nijinsky's "Faun" at parties. More important, one wonders about the reason he gives for the Nijinsky visit. For I have remembered what was given out at the time and believed until Mr. Nabokov's story: that Nijinsky was taken to the performance of "Petrouchka" in the hope that seeing this ballet in which he had danced and seeing Karsavina with whom he had danced in it might have an effect on his insanity. That, it seems to me, must have been Mme Nijinsky's and the doctor's purpose in the visit, whatever Diaghilev's use of it.

Again, in his account of a visit to Tanglewood to discuss with Koussevitzky a work which the conductor was commissioning him to compose, he tells of hearing Koussevitzky's performance of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony. And in the *Atlantic Monthly* he wrote: "Flamboyant and exuberant, it was certainly the most romantic, the most Tchaikovskian performance of the symphony I have ever heard"; but in the book this is changed to "Whatever his detractors, his critics may say about his performance of this work, it was certainly the most inspired, the most romantic, the most Tchaikovskian performance of the symphony I have ever heard." Here—in the addition of "detractors" and "whatever his detractors, his critics may say" to minimize the legitimate criticism of Koussevitzky's distortions—we see the pejorative formulation in actual operation; and also the reverse procedure in the omission of "flamboyant and exuberant" and the insertion of "inspired."

Let me make it clear that I don't think Mr. Nabokov does this sort of thing consciously. What I think, instead, is that his is not the rare disinterested mind which can consider the facts objectively and report them accurately, but the more usual mind for which the facts assume whatever appearance is required by purpose or emotions—the appearance that is funnier for Mr. Nabokov's purpose as an entertainer, or more advantageous to someone he feels warmly disposed toward, or less advantageous to someone he feels hostile toward. And the result is a book which is highly interesting and amusing, but about which one doesn't know whether everything that is interesting or amusing happened the way he says.

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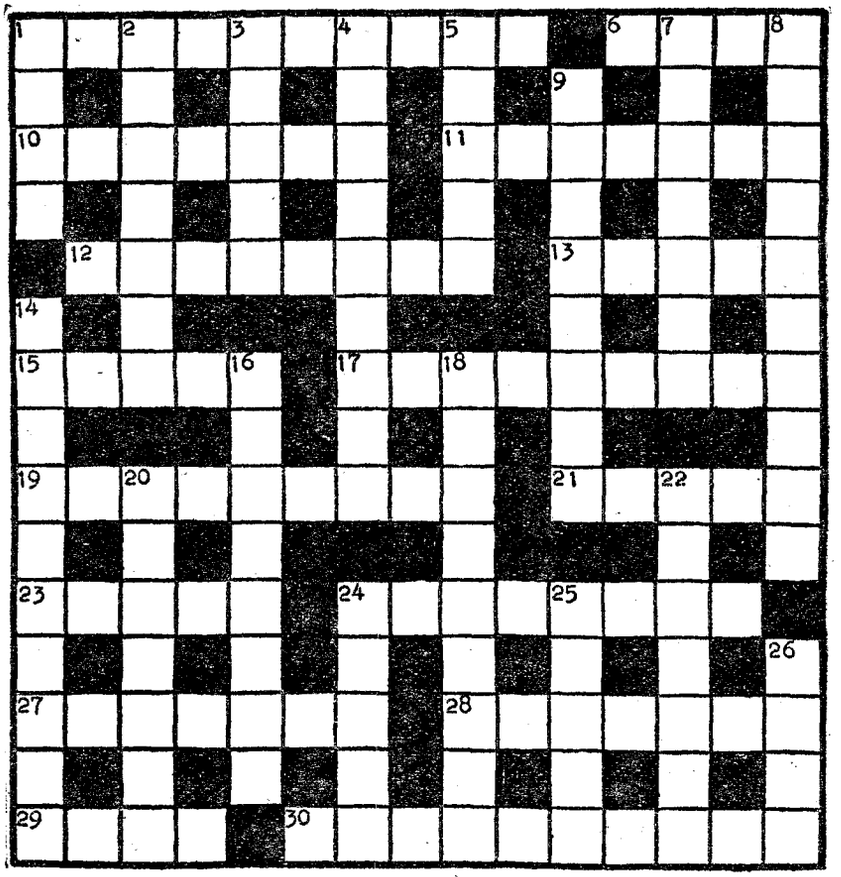

ACROSS

1 You might find a hint of it in Manito. (10)
6 See 26 down.
10 5 down, 24 across Moccasin factory for Uncas (3, 4, 2, 3, 8)
11 Author, yet slightly more than a bad author. (7)
12 Is the opening only left on board? (8)
13 Is it spoiled if 16½ feet are left? (5)
15 See 26 down.
17 Coming out of the air, it hung in Germany. (9)
19 Busses shouldn't be stopped underneath it. (9)
21 Close to a petal—in fact close to all broken petals. (5)
23 Part of a lariat and another lariat. (5)
24 See 10.
27 Main hazard. (7)
28 This is a dumb way to get an idea across! (7)
29 Speed-up plant. (4)
30 Used to get acted around a sort of 25 down. (10)

DOWN

1 Little letter. (4)
2 and 14 The St. Thomas with the comparatively funny appelation? (3, 4, 3, 7)
3 One of those things with social organization follows me, as intended. (5)
4 Bird equivalent to work with a shuttle? (3, 3, 3)
5 See 10 across.
7 Could gin ever be responsible for it? (The chalk-line test might say so!) (7)
8 How could Arthur be at the head of it! (5, 5)
9 Whims. (8)
14 See 2.
16 Rescues a sizeable number surrounded by Indians. (8)
18 I ate lunch? That's not right! (9)
20 Is their patron saint Vitus? (7)
22 Founder with 3? Include me out by this standard! (7)
24 Descriptive of the Mann Mountain. (5)
25 Just title—so you say! (5)
26 6 across, 15 across Is the Prince of Cads? (4, 4, 5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 438

ACROSS:—1 MISINTERPRETED; 8 PRESTO-CHANGO; 10 ICEBREAKER; 11 CHOP; 13 TOPICS; 14 SABOTEUR; 16 PRIMEVAL; 19 EDOM; 20 COTTON YARN; 22 ANNA KARENINA; 23 CONTRACT BRIDGE.

DOWN:—1 MEPHISTOPHELES; 2 STEREOPTICON; 3 NUTCRACKER; 4 ESCHAR; 5 PLACE MAT; 6 ERGO; 7 and 17 COMPARISONS ARE ODIOUS; 9 THREE OF A KIND; 12 GOLDEN BEAR; 15 PANORAMA; 18 STRAIT; 21 GNAT.

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